

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 4174

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PINR YO

SUBJECT: POTPOURRI OF INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

REF: A. BELGRADE 3572 (NOTAL) B. BELGRADE 464 (NOTAL)

C. ZAGREB 517 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: FORMATION OF POLITICAL BUREAU AND CONCOMITANT  
ELEVATION OF BOSNIAN PARTY SECRETARY BRANKO MIKULIC REMAIN  
ONLY RUMORS AT THIS POINT IN SPITE OF PRESS LEAK (REFTEL).  
IN OTHER INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS  
(LC) EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DOLANC, CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE AND  
OUTSPOKEN. PARTY MEMBERSHIP HAS INCREASED TO OVER  
1.4 MILLION, WITH HALF OF THE MEMBERSHIP ADMITTED SINCE 1971.  
AZEM VLASI HAS BEEN REELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST  
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YOUTH, NOW 3.5 MILLION STRONG. DESPITE KARDELJ'S CLAIMS  
THAT STATE'S CENTRAL ROLE DECREASING, EMPLOYMENT IN THE  
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION IS UP 25 PERCENT IN THE LAST 18  
MONTHS, AND ASSEMBLY DELEGATES ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT  
RELIANCE ON ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES. ACCORDING TO A  
LEGISLATIVE STAFFER, TITO AND THE LC PLAY LITTLE ROLE IN  
THE FORMULATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY. CHURCH-STATE

RELATIONS REMAIN UNEASY. TWO MORE POLICEMEN HAVE BEEN MURDERED. END SUMMARY.

2. POLITICAL BUREAU - CONSCIOUS PRESS LEAK REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A POLITICAL BUREAU (ALTHOUGH WE CERTAIN IT WILL NOT END UP BEING CALLED BY THIS TOO SOVIET TITLE) AT THE TOP OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS HAS FUELED INCREASING SPECULATION. WHILE SOME REPORTS INDICATE BUREAU MIGHT BE FORMED AS EARLY AS THIS MONTH, WE BELIEVE MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL REFORM OF THIS NATURE MORE LIKELY AT THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS NEXT YEAR. EXPERIENCED EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMAT RECALLS FLURRY OF RUMORS BEFORE THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS, MOST OF WHICH PROVED FALSE, AND WE WILL NO DOUBT BE HEARING MORE AND MORE AS THE CONGRESS APPROACHES. EASTERN EUROPEANS WITH WHOM WE HAVE RECENTLY TALKED BELIEVE THE COMPOSITION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU HAS NOT YET BEEN FIXED AND SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT IT CAN BE HELD TO SEVEN MEMBERS AS THIS EXCLUDES SOME NATIONALITIES AND MILITARY. YUGOSLAV SOURCES WHILE CONFIRMING THAT DECISION TAKEN TO ESTABLISH SEVEN MAN BODY, SAY THIS IS OLD TITO DREAM AND THAT IT WILL NEVER COME TO PASS IN EXACTLY THE FORM HE WANTS. A POLITICAL BUREAU DOES HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO EASE THE TITO SUCCESSION PROBLEM, AS HAS THE FORMATION OF THE STATE PRESIDENCY. NO MECHANISM SHORT OF ELECTING A NEW PARTY PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO REPLACE TITO IN HIS MOST CONFIDENTIAL

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SIGNIFICANT OFFICE, THE PRESIDENCY OF THE LC.

3. DOLANC AND MIKULIC - FORMATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU MAY AFFECT THE POWER OF LC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE LC IN BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA, BRANKO MIKULIC. SOME REPORTS HAVE MIKULIC COMING TO BELGRADE TO REPLACE DOLANC, WITH DOLANC MOVING UP TO THE NEW BODY. SMALL EMBASSY SAMPLE OF PUBLIC REACTION TO THE POSSIBLE ELEVATION OF MIKULIC REVEALS OUTRIGHT FEAR. ONE INTELLECTUAL THOUGHT HE MIGHT HAVE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY TO AVOID IMPRISONMENT IF MIKULIC WERE GIVEN SIGNIFICANT POWER AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. THE SAME YUGOSLAVS, HOWEVER, SPECULATED THAT TITO MIGHT BE BRINGING MIKULIC CLOSER IN ORDER TO KEEP HIM UNDER TIGHTER CONTROL. A WELL-CONNECTED DIPLOMAT SPECULATES THAT MOVING MIKULIC TO THE FEDERAL PARTY MAY BE DESIGNED TO WEAKEN THE POWER OF THE REPUBLICS SINCE MIKULIC IS ONE OF THE FEW STRONG REPUBLICAN LEADERS. IF

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 BELGRADE 4174

MIKULIC DOES REPLACE DOLANC AND A POLITICAL BUREAU IS CREATED, AN IMPORTANT QUESTION WILL BE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW BODY AND THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THE LATTER COULD BECOME MERELY A SHELL DOMINATED BY DOLANC AND THE POLITICAL BUREAU OR VICE VERSA. THE ONLY THING LCEAR ABOUT THIS ARRANGEMENT IS THAT TITO COMES OUT THE WINNER-- NO SURPRISE GIVEN HIS PAST SKILL IN PREVENTING ANY CHALLENGE TO HIS PERSONAL POWER.

4. DOLANC SPEAKS - MIKULIC DOES SEEM TO BE GETTING MORE ATTENTION IN THE PRESS THESE DAYS BUT DOLANC IS ALSO VERY ACTIVE. HE RECENTLY GAVE WELL-PUBLICIZED AND WIDE-RANGING TV AND NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS. ON TV HE DISPLAYED A VIGOR WHICH BELIES HIS OBESITY. HE  
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ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE PROBABLY WILL BE "SOME CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE LC".  
IN DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF ROTATION, WHICH IS GERMANE

TO HIS OWN SITUATION AS ONE WHO HAS BEEN IN THE SAME OFFICE FOR FIVE YEARS, HE AGREED THAT IT IS NOT GOOD FOR AN OFFICIAL TO STAY IN THE SAME JOB FOR "20 YEARS", BUT THAT SUCH AN OFFICIAL SHOULD ROTATE TO OTHER POSITIONS COMMENSURATE WITH HIS SKILLS AND ABILITY. WITH REGARDS TO HUMAN RIGHTS, DOLANC DESCRIBED YUGOSLAVIA AS "THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHICH HAS TRULY BEGUN TO STRIVE FOR THE FREEDOM OF MAN". HE DEFINED THE KEY ASPECT OF FREEDOM AS "THE POSITION OF WORKERS IN PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS". IN HIS NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW DOLANC ARGUED FOR CONTINUED PARTY ATTENTION TO SO-CALLED "SMALL THINGS" SUCH AS THE URBAN FOOD SUPPLY AND PRICES. HE SAID THAT ISSUES WHICH VITALLY AFFECT THE STANDARD OF LIVING ARE NOT SMALL BUT OF MAJOR CONCERN. DOLANC STRONGLY CRITICIZED WAGE LEVELING TENDENCIES. HE SAID THAT ARGUMENTS ABOUT ALL WORKERS HAVING "EQUAL STOMACHS" ONLY SUPPORT "IDLENESS AND IDLERS".

5. PARTY MEMBERSHIP: IN THE SAME NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW DOLANC SAID THAT AT THE END OF 1976 LC MEMBERSHIP STOOD AT 1,460,267. THIS IS A 35.6 PERCENT INCREASE SINCE THE END OF 1973 WHEN MEMBERSHIP WAS 1,076,711 AND IS AN ALL-TIME HIGH. THE NUMBER OF NEW MEMBERS JOINING THE PARTY HAS INCREASED EACH YEAR SINCE 1971 AND A TOTAL OF 702,938 MEMBERS (ALMOST HALF THE LC) HAS JOINED IN THIS PERIOD. WHILE WORKERS CONSTITUTE THE LARGEST SOCIAL GROUP IN THE PARTY WITH 422,527 MEMBERS, OR 28.9 PERCENT DOLANC CONSIDERS THE EXTENT OF WORKER PARTICIPATION STILL CONFIDENTIAL

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UNSATISFACTORY. HE HINTED THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE WORKER MIGHT BE BROADENED. HE SAID THAT WITH MODERN TECHNOLOGY EVEN A DOCTOR OF SCIENCE CAN BE A DIRECT PRODUCER.

6. SOCIALIST YOUTH - AS ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE, AZEM VLASI WAS REELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH ON MAY 27. AN ALBANIAN, VLASI THUS CONTINUES TO OCCUPY A POSITION OF HIGH VISIBILITY AND LOW IMPORTANCE. THE ORGANIZATION NOW HAS 3-1/2 MILLION MEMBERS ORGANIZED IN 35 THOUSAND BASIC ORGANIZATIONS-15,000 IN ENTERPRISES, 8,000 IN RURAL AREAS AND 12,000 IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. 2,170,000 MEMBERS ARE MALE AND 1,330,000 FEMALE.

7. NON-POLITICAL AMNESTY AND FIRST FRUIT OF CSCE- STATE PRESIDENCY SESSION ON JUNE 15 PARDONED A "CERTAIN NUMBER" OF INDIVIDUALS, BUT YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST TOLD US

HE UNDERSTANDS NO POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE INCLUDED.  
ONE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE  
HAS BEEN THE RETURN THE DAY CSCE OPENED OF THE PASSPORT  
OF SLAVICA BAROVIC, THE DAUGHTER OF LAWYER JOVAN  
BAROVIC, WHO HANDLES SENSITIVE POLITICAL CASES. HER  
PASSPORT HAD BEEN SEIZED WITHOUT EXPLANATION IN  
DECEMBER (REFTEL). A LETTER FROM HER FATHER TO INTERIOR  
SECRETARY HERLJEVIC DREW A PERSONAL RESPONSE FROM  
YUGOSLAV'S TOP COP, AN APOLOGY AND EXPLANATION THAT A  
MISTAKE HAD BEEN MADE AT LOWER LEVEL. MS. BAROVIC  
THINKS AN OPEN LETTER FROM A FORMER PROFESSOR AT YALE  
MENTIONING THAT THEIR COMMON COLLEAGUE ZBIGNIEW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 BELGRADE 4174

BRZEZINSKI WOULD TAKE AN INTEREST IN HER CASE MAY  
ALONG WITH CSCE HAVE BEEN THE DECIDING FACTOR.

8. CONFORMITY IN THE PARTY - AS REPORTED IN NIN,  
A SURVEY OF LC MEMBERS IN ZAGREB REVEALS THAT 80  
PERCENT BELIEVE THAT THEIR COMRADES IN BASIC PARTY  
ORGANIZATIONS DO NOT SPEAK OPENLY. THE AUTHORS OF  
THE STUDY ATTRIBUTE THIS CONFORMITY TO A TRADITIONAL

HIERARCHICAL MENTALITY, A LACK OF MOTIVATION TO SPEAK OUT AND PERCEPTIONS OF ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES IN THE EVENT OF OPPOSITION TO THE OFFICIAL LINE.

9. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES - A COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RECENTLY EVALUATED THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. REPORTS OF THE MEETING  
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EMPHASIZED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE COUNCIL HAD RELIED TOO HEAVILY ON ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES TO RUN THE ECONOMY RATHER THAN MARKET PRINCIPLES. A DELEGATE FROM CROATIA, DARINKA PUSCARIC, POINTED OUT THAT IN THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION HAS RISEN BY 25 PERCENT, AND BY 43 PERCENT IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS. SHE SAID THE INCREASE HAD BEEN REFLECTED IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET BUT NOT IN THE QUALITY OF WORK PRODUCED. THIS CONTRADICTS KARDELJ AND OTHER YUGOSLAV LEADERS' ASSERTIONS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND A DECREASING ROLE FOR THE STATE.

10. THE ROLES OF TITO, THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT - A STAFFER IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RECENTLY TOLD EMBOFFS THAT TITO KEEPS CLOSE CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY AND TO A LESSER EXTENT MILITARY POLICY, BUT HE LEAVES THE ECONOMY TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE SOURCE SAID THAT THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS HAS ONLY 2 ECONOMIC SPECIALISTS (WE HAD HEARD 8 FROM ANOTHER SOURCE) AND THAT IT ALSO LEFT ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE HANDS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY. IN DESCRIBING THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, SOURCE SAID THAT THE DELEGATES CONSULT WITH THEIR REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLIES AND EXECUTIVE COUNCILS IN FORMULATING THEIR POSITION. SOURCE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE OPEN SESSIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ARE MEANINGLESS, BUT SAID THAT REAL DEBATE DOES OCCUR IN THE CLOSED MEETINGS. WHILE SOURCE'S VIEWS ON TITO'S PERSONAL ROLE MAY BE CORRECT, THE PARTY AT ALL LEVELS IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN ECONOMIC DECISIONS.

11. SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH - TWO SERBIAN-ORTHODOX  
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CLERICS FROM THE US HAVE RECENTLY CALLED SEPARATELY ON THE CHARGE. IN BELGRADE FOR ANNUAL MAY CONVOCATION

THEY PROVIDED AN INTERESTING PICTURE OF THE CHURCH. ONE DESCRIBED IT AS BEING IN CRISIS. HE SAID THERE IS A SEVERE SHORTAGE OF CLERGYMEN ALTHOUGH PARADOXICALLY MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE ATTENDING CHURCH. IN YUGOSLAVIA THERE ARE ONLY 400 CANDIDATES FOR 700 VACANT PARISHES. (IN THE US THERE ARE THREE VACANCIES AND ONLY ONE CANDIDATE). THE OTHER CLERGYMAN LIKENED THE CHURCH'S EXPERIENCE UNDER COMMUNISM TO ITS 500 YEARS UNDER THE TURKS AND SEVERAL CENTURIES UNDER THE ROMANS. HE SAID THE CHURCH GETS A SMALL SUBVENTION FROM THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT BUT THAT THIS IS "PEANUTS" COMPARED TO THE VALUE OF NATIONALIZED CHURCH PROPERTY. BOTH SPOKE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING PERMITS FOR CONSTRUCTING NEW CHURCHES. IN ALL OF NOVI BELGRADE NOT ONE CHURCH HAS BEEN PERMITTED, AND COMPLETION OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE SVETI SAVA CATHEDRAL IN OLD BELGRADE BEGUN BEFORE WWII HAS LONG BEEN BLOCKED EVEN THOUGH FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE, LARGELY FROM AMERICAN SERBS. THE CHURCH HAS THE EASIEST TIME GETTING PERMISSION TO BUILD IN BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA, AND A SERBIAN-ORTHODOX SEMINARY WILL SOON BE OPENED IN SARAJEVO. BOTH CLERICS THOUGHT THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE GOY'S RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN BENEFITTED THE ORTHODOX CHURCH BECAUSE OF THE NEED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO TREAT BOTH EQUALLY. ONE SUGGESTED THAT THE GOY'S FAVORABLE TREATMENT OF MUSLIMS, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF ITS DESIRED GOOD RELATIONS WITH MUSLIM COUNTRIES, ALSO WAS BENEFICIAL TO OTHER RELIGIONS. ONE SOURCE HOWEVER SAID THAT THE SERBIAN CHURNCH IS STILL SEEKING

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PERMISSION TO HOLD SUNDAY SCHOOL, A CONCESSION THE CATHOLICS ALREADY ENJOY. IN SPITE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, AN AMERICAN STUDYING HERE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT TWO CROATION FRIENDS TOLD HIM THEY WERE FEARFUL OF BEING SEEN ATTENDING CHURCH BECAUSE IT COULD ENDANGER THEIR CAREERS.

12. CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS - THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS RECENTLY SPONSORED A CONFERENCE IN ZAGREB ON ITS RELATION TO RELIGION AND THE CHURCH. SECRETARY IN LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TODO KURTOVIC SAID THAT ALL CITIZENS IN YUGOSLAVIA, RELIGIOUS OR NOT, HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS, AND DUTIES. HE SAID, "WE ARE NOT FIGHTING AGAINST RELIGION AS SUCH BUT ARE CHANGING THE CONDITIONS WHICH HAVE CREATED IT". THE CONFEREES  
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AGREED THAT "DIRECT STRUGGLE AGAINST THEISM IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS NON-SCIENTIFIC".

13. A SLIP OF THE TONGUE - DURING LAST MONTH'S SOCCER MATCH FOR THE YUGOSLAV CUP, THE SPORTSCASTER, VLADAN STOJAKOVIC, WAS NAMING THE DIGNATARIES IN ATTENDANCE AS THE TV PANNED ACCROSS THEM. WHEN HE GOT TO THE PRESIDENT OF SERBIA, DRAGOSLAAV (DRAZA) MARKOVIC, HE MADE AN ASTOUNDING ERROR WHICH WAS BRIEFLY THE TALK OF BELGRADE AND PROBABLY ALL YUGOSLAVIA. HE DESCRIBED THE FACE ON THE SCREEN AS DRAZA MIHAJLOVIC, THE SERBIAN CHETNIK LEADER EXECUTED BY THE COMMUNISTS AFTER THE WAR. STOJAKOVIC DID NOT BROADCAST FOR A TIME AFTER THIS BLOOPER BUT IS NOW BACK ON THE AIR.

14. POLICEMEN KILLED - MYSTERIOUS KILLING OF ZAGREB POLICEMAN LAST MONTH (REFTEL) HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY RECENT MURDER OF TWO NOVI SAD POLICEMEN AS THEY REPORTEDLY TRIED TO PREVENT A ROBBERY AND ASSAULTS ON TWO POLICE OFFICERS IN MACEDONIA, REPORTEDLY IN BAR ROOM BRAWLS. NO CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE INCIDENTS HAS BEEN REPORTED BUT THE COINCIDENCE, ON THE EVE OF THE CSCE CONFERENCE, WILL HEIGHTEN ALREADY



AROUSED SUSPICIONS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED SABOTAGE.  
EAGLEBURGER

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## Message Attributes

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